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ABSTRACT

The debate over the role of the press in the Third World has largely ignored questions of public perception of media roles and performance. To investigate whether an audience perceives the fundamental difference between development journalism (where the state has significant involvement in news decisions) and a free press, and whether that difference matters to the audience, a study examined attitudes in Mauritius regarding that nation's media and its credibility. Subjects, 502 adult residents of Mauritius, were interviewed regarding four elements of media credibility (whether the news is fair and balanced, tells the truth, gets to the bottom of the community's problems, i.e., problem-solving, and reports accurately). Interviews also addressed media-government issues (whether journalists have a responsibility to report all the news, regardless of consequences; whether journalists should be licensed by the government to maintain high standards; and whether too much emphasis by journalists on conflicts and problems poses a threat to national development). Results included the finding that both television and newspaper journalism were rated quite favorably in terms of fairness/balance, believability, and accuracy. Results revealed a pattern of credibility and of different ratings for each news medium which suggest that this audience perceives the effects of government media control. Problem solving and accuracy in newspapers and television received comparable ratings in Mauritius. (Four tables of data and 28 notes are included.) (SR)

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NEW WORLD JOURNALISM IN MAURITIUS: THE CREDIBILITY OF DEVELOPMENT NEWS IN THE THIRD WORLD

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The concept of a free press is not recognized among some government leaders of the Third World. They argue that developing nations should apply special kinds of media controls in order to achieve the objectives of less-developed nations. Supporters of a liberal, democratic press reply that such press controls are anathematic to the role of the press as a check to governmental abuses; an affirmative government role in the news media is inconsistent with fundamental tenets of open democracy.

The audience is the neglected element in this ideological standoff. How much credibility and independence does the public vest in the Third World press? It has not been established whether the public sees either the relevance of a free press or government involvement in news.

The debate takes a sharp focus in UNESCO's New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).[2] The intent of

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[1]Support for this project was provided by Rotary International Foundation and the Mauritius Ministry of Information.

[2]See, for example: William Hachten, *The World News Prism*, Iowa: Iowa State University, 1981); Thomas McPhail, *Electronic Colonialism: The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication*, Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1987); and Robert L. Stevenson, *Communication, Development and the Third World* (New York: Longman, 1988).

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NWICO is the decolonization and democratization of the Third World,[3] promoting journalistic responsibility through codes and licenses for reporters, limited access to foreign events, international right of reply, and positive news rather than reports of conflict and natural disaster, etc.

Development journalism is often promoted as a means to accomplish these goals. It is difficult to define development journalism because of its diversity of uses but a presumption applied here is the existence of significant state involvement in news decisions.[4] Many Third-World nations see development as a valid social goal and believe the media have a contribution to make toward it.[5] Conversely, in "The Declaration of Talloires," a confederation of free press interests affirmed their opposition to development journalism: "We consider restraints on the movement of news and information to be contrary to the interests of international understanding...."[6] Their specific objections revolve around the threatened loss of journalism's independent voice.[7]

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[3]Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," in George Gerbner and Marsha Siefert, eds., *World Communications: A Handbook*, (New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 14-27; also Washington Uranga, "NWICO: New World Information and Communication Order," paper presented to OCIC/UNDA conference, Nairobi, Kenya, 1983.

[4]It is acknowledged that "development journalism" can occur within a free press, but this does not address the important question about the role of the state in news reporting. Similarly, government involvement in news does not necessarily imply development news unless such involvement is either coercive or premptive of reporter-editor autonomy.

[5]Jerry K. Domatob & Stephen W. Hall, "Development Journalism in Black Africa," *Gazette 31*, (1982), pp. 9-33.

[6]The Declaration of Talloires (France), May 15-17, 1981 was published in leaflet form by the World Press Freedom Committee.

[7]A recent study also suggested that a policy which protects national interests could have the net effect of promoting reigning political figures: Drew

This project does not focus on NWICO proposals directly, but it examines the basis on which developing nations argue for media controls. If state control undermines media credibility, there should be a relatively small, skeptical audience.

Government involvement with the press in general, and the electronic media in particular, is present in the vast majority of less-developed nations, particularly in Africa. The Third World shows varying degrees of state control in both print and electronic media and many states promote such controls.[8] Certain states have mixed systems in which government-controlled media exist side by side with privately-owned media. Such co-existence is inevitable, Paul A.V. Ansah of Ghana suggests[9], because of the historical, economic and political realities of Africa. However, rather than interpreting government-influenced media systems as merely arms of authoritarian governments, they ought to be seen as a media tradition governed by a "social service" mandate instead of the "market" concept. Others also have suggested that the Third World may be developing a unique press concept adapted to its circumstances,[10] or that a one-party democracy does not require the internal checks and opposition which arises in Western versions of

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McDaniel, "Development News in Two Asian Nations," *Journalism Quarterly*, (Spring 1986), pp. 167-170.

[8]S. Adefemi Sonaike, "Communication and Third World Development: A dead end?" *Gazette 41*, (1988), pp. 85-108.

[9]Paul A.V. Ansah, "International News; Mutual Responsibilities of Developed and Developing Nations," in George Gerbner and Marsha Siefert , eds., *World Communications: A Handbook*, (New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 87-88.

[10]See Altah Gauhar, "Third World: An Alternative Press," in *Journal of International Affairs* 35, 1981, pp. 165-177.

democracy.[11] There is little doubt that many cultural factors must be taken into account in understanding Third World press challenges. For example, Madagascar has a tradition of the written press that is 120 years old, but the Comoros inaugurated its first newspaper in 1985.[12]

Whether cast as ideological opponent, or merely social service carrier, development journalism presents a challenge to libertarian press theory. There is little research available on the public perception of media roles and performance in the Third World.[13] The NWICO debate has focused primarily on international dimensions (e.g. transnational news flow, allocation of radiowave spectrum, etc.), but national and local media issues have not been given the emphasis they deserve.

One particularly salient problem which can be examined directly in the Third World context is credibility. As Ansah asserts, the question of credibility is fundamental to solving the problem of imbalance in the flow of news both between developed and developing countries and within less-developed nations.[14]

Another reason news media credibility is critical in Third World development is rooted in the general assumption that mass society raises the dependence of the individual on public channels of

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[11]Dorothy Dodge, *African Politics in Perspective,* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1966).

[12]"Rural Press Development in Africa," a report of the proceedings of a UNESCO/ACCE regional workshop, Nairobi, Kenya, July, 1987.

[13]The case for Third World research has been put forth by Everett Rogers and James Dearing in "Agenda-Setting Research: Where Has It Been, Where Is It Going?" in James Anderson, ed., *Communication Yearbook 11* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1988) pp. 555-594.

[14]Paul A.V.Ansah, "African Responses to the NWICO Debate," in Philip Lee (Ed.), *Communication For All,* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books), 1986.

information for a broad range of human needs. Media credibility is the functional alternative for interpersonal trust when social conditions technological change demand that individuals seek alternative sources of information about conditions in the community, nation and world.

It is understandable that the questions outlined are not easily answered. In Africa alone there are 50 independent nations which have less in common than the public might assume. Their Third World identification arises from a perspective which ignores their unique and distinctive cultural differences. Second, languages, cultures and political constraints pose real obstacles to media research. Access is often difficult and expensive. Third, mass media researchers have not always been interested in an "audience-oriented" perspective. This paradigm differs from dominant communication models in several ways, but perhaps most significantly in empowering individuals to create meaning through information use, not merely to be receptacles of meaning through media channels. This approach suggests that individuals in the mass media audience exercise interpretative control over media and messages.

Other challenges facing such research include the following:

1. A conceptual problem in analyzing media credibility rests on the assumption that the opinions of the reader/viewer are important to the news media and that perhaps those opinions can be adjusted, or manipulated, for the sake of journalism's public standing. Perhaps the public *should* be skeptical of public information to some degree. If credibility is more audience- than media-centered, any

threatening message in the news may damage it, independent of media control. Another variable is the relative critical-thinking skills of an audience. If an audience lacks skills to resolve perceived threats and conflicts, any public message has the potential to raise alarm. Finally, credibility itself may not be a stable characteristic. Anderson has demonstrated that media credibility ratings can vary for different types of news stories.[15]

2. Audience views of the news media in the Third World are confused by attitudes of journalists themselves. Editors of Third World newspapers have been found to hold somewhat contradictory opinions about their roles and responsibilities. Roser and Brown[16] found that African editors preferred freedom in the flow of news but also accepted their responsibility to aid in national development. Editors generally agreed that governments ought to assure that the media support national development efforts. It is difficult to generalize from such findings, given the diversity of political and economic conditions in Africa, but the media-audience relationship might be even further confused by the attitudes of journalists themselves, which are not entirely coherent or understood.

3. Sigal[17] suggests that from the audience's perspective, news is the product of an organization fulfilling its goals as if it were an individual rather than as the result of a process that involves many people with various motives. From this view, the audience may

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[15]James Anderson, "An analysis of the methodologies used in media credibility studies," a paper presented at the International Communication Association convention, Phoenix, 1971.

[16]Connie Roser and Lee Brown, "African Newspaper Editors and The New World Information Order," *Journalism Quarterly*, 63: (Spring 1986) pp. 114-121.

[17]Leon Sigal, *Reporters and Officials*, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Health, 1973.

ascribe to news organizations an overriding motive for its decision-making processes. On the other hand, Avery and McCain[18] argue that the concept of source to a media audience is vague to most receivers. They cannot easily discern the source as the producer, editor, writer, actor, television station, network, or the newspaper owner, or perhaps all of them; that receivers of media messages tend to be functionally illiterate as to how media sources manipulate their credibility. These opposing propositions remain largely untested.

The central question to be posed here, however, rests on whether an audience perceives the fundamental difference between development journalism and a free press, and whether that difference matters to the audience.

Credibility Defined

To examine the credibility of journalism in the Third World requires that we define and operationalize the concept of media credibility. Meyer[19] pointed out the application of credibility to newspapers should be two-dimensional. A community audience may "believe" news reports but still not approve of editorial decision-making *per se*. It may be too much to expect a newspaper to be both believable and liked all of the time. A newspaper's staff may feel a sense a duty to report bad news at a cost of popularity, but certainly not believability.

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[18]Robert K. Avery and Thomaws A. McCain, "Interpersonal and Mediated Encounters: A Reorientation to the Mass Communication Process," in Gumpert, Gary and Cathcart, Robert, *Inter/Media: Interpersonal Communication in a Media World*, New York: Oxford (1986), pp. 121-131.

[19]Philip Meyer, "Defining and Measuring Credibility of Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 65:567-574, 588 (1988).

A clearer view of this media-credibility problem is seen as the co-orientation of the media audience to both *source* and *topic*. If the two-dimensional model of media credibility is to hold, then we should seek evidence that the audience actually sees the difference between who is reporting and what is reported. If they are functionally independent, as suggested above, then credibility will be focused on them separately.

Furthermore, the value of the news media in developing nations is not just whether they are to be believed. Their value in society rests as well on the degree to which they perceive, report on and penetrate community problems. These functions can be identified in two additional dimensions of media credibility which are of general interest in the Third World context: problem-solving and accuracy.

What results from this analysis is a rationale for a comparative study of the credibility of development journalism in developing nations. The comparison can only be made based on the comparable performance of a free press in a particular location. Data gathered from such a study will aid in understanding the overall public perception of government influence on news in particular and the validity of NWICO arguments in general.

Location

The research study was conducted in Mauritius, an island nation of 1.2 million people located 600 miles off the eastern coast of sub-Saharan Africa in the Indian Ocean. Mauritius was selected for the study because it was accessible for research, has a well-

developed media market for a Third World nation and a somewhat typical media environment for Africa of private newspapers and a government-sponsored broadcast system.

Mauritius is a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and is also identified as one of 38 nation-states which are autonomous "island societies," of which 21 are independent and 17 others are either associated with or dependent upon larger developed nations. Most of these island states obtained their independence during the second phase of Western decolonization between 1960 and 1975. Mauritius gained its independence from Britain in 1968.

The population of Mauritius is sharply divided by race, culture and religion. Two-thirds of the residents are of Indian descent and are divided between Hindus and Moslems who speak many Indian languages. Thirty percent are Creoles of slave descent, largely Catholic, and varying in skin color from black to white. Three percent are Chinese. A small minority are Franco-and Anglo-Mauritians, who are descendents of colonizers who dominated the island prior to its independence.[20]

Since the island was controlled at different periods by France, Britain and Holland, it retains some elements of all languages and cultures. English is the official language of government but is recognized as having a decreasing overall influence and popularity. Most commerce and education is conducted in French, but the

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[20]J.E. Meade and others, *The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1961).

population commonly speaks a Mauritian Creole dialect which is unique to the Mascarene Islands off the sub-Saharan coast of Africa.

The island has a vigorous and popular group of newspapers. Most newspaper stands carry 7-10 Mauritian daily and weekly newspapers. The two dominant community daily newspapers are *L'Express* and *Le Mauricien*. Popular weekly newspapers are *Dimanche* and *Weekend*. All are independent, community newspapers which are published in French. The only television and radio service on the island is operated by Mauritian Broadcast Co., a government-supported communication service.[21] A government-appointed community board of directors sets policy for the broadcast operation with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Information serving as chairman of the governing board.[22] The Prime Minister of Mauritius also serves as Minister of Information. Routine operations of MBC are heavily influenced by government activities. Most government press conferences and public relations events are covered in great length by broadcast crews.

The political opposition is guaranteed access to broadcast news by law, but as a practical matter there are relatively few occasions

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[21] One of the methodological problems in a mixed-media study is accounting for the inherent differences between print and broadcast journalism. The differences can be significant and are not understated here. Yet, the problems of comparing news media should not obscure the fact that government-sponsored broadcast news in the Third World is the rule rather than an exception, and newspapers and television journalists are journalistic competitors. To some degree, it is still not clear whether the differences in news coverage by the media are more significant than the similarities and whether the differences among the media are greater than those among news organizations in any single medium.

[22] The Permanent Secretary of the Mauritius Ministry of Information expressed support for NWICO objectives in an interview at Government House, Port Louis, Jan. 16, 1988.

for opposition party spokespersons to appear on broadcast newscasts. Almost all other overtly political events are avoided by broadcast news crews as a matter of news policy.

The island often has a charged political climate which generates newspaper coverage but is conspicuously absent on broadcast news. Several political rallies which were near-riots were ignored by the broadcast news in 1988. One event which went unreported involved several thousand spectators at a rally within a few miles of the broadcast news headquarters. Other types of news which have been virtually ignored by the broadcast news include important developments on illegal drugs and AIDS. Stories which have been the focus of special broadcast efforts have included pollution and environment.

Research Method

A probability sample was drawn using a list of random numbers from the 1988 Mauritius Voter Registry, which contains 99 percent of all adult residents 18 years and over on the island. A stratefied sample of 42 percent urban and 58 percent rural adults was drawn from the voter rolls, matching the island's population distribution.

Twenty native interviewers conducted the survey in May-June of 1988. A total of 502 survey interviews were completed; 14 people refused to participate; 24 had moved; 3 were deceased; and 61 could not be located or had insufficient addresses. Demographic data from the survey was compared with the 1987 *Mauritius Annual Digest of*

Statistics to affirm the representativeness of the sample. Sex, age and urban-rural residency all closely matched the general population based on the most recent census data available.

Respondents were asked about four dimensions of media credibility:

1. The news is "fair and balanced." (Fairness)

2. The news medium tells the public the "truth." (Believable)

3. Newspaper reporters get to the bottom of the community's problems. (Problem-solving)

4. The illegal drugs and AIDS situation is more/less serious than reported in the media. (Accuracy)

The questionnaire also sought information about public response to three relevant media-government issues arising directly from NWICO.[23] Public responses to these issues were compared to attitudes of African newspaper editors. These issues are:

1. Do journalists have a responsibility to report all the news, regardless of the consequences?

2. Should journalists be licensed by the government to maintain high standards in the news media?

3. Is too much emphasis by journalists on conflicts and problems a threat to national development?

Results

Both television and newspaper journalism were rated quite favorably in terms of fairness/balance (Table 1). Broadcast

[23]Roser and Brown, pp. 117-119.

journalism was generally considered by the media audience to be more fair than newspapers (.001). Lower fairness ratings for both media were reported by women, urban residents, and those 40 years and older.

An interesting differential is associated with education. As education levels rise, the fairness rating drops for broadcast news (5.40 to 5.22) but rises for newspapers (4.75 to 5.07). Men in particular have a higher approval rating of broadcast news than women (5.43 to 5.17) but higher levels of variance in several categories suggests less homogeneity in opinions among broadcast viewers in general.

When the audience was asked about believablity, the response for newspapers was 4.44 and for broadcast news 4.38. The comparable ratings for believability is contrasted with the significantly different ratings between the media for fairness.

There were no significant differences between newspaper and broadcast news found for the dimensions of problem-solving and accuracy as they were operationalized in this study. There was, however, a polarizing effect in the responses directed toward broadcast news. More people in the sample expressed positive or negative opinions about broadcast journalism than for newspapers. On average, 20 percent of the sample reported "no opinion" across the four credibility questions for broadcast news; 28 percent for newspapers.

When the sample was partitioned according to media use, significant differences emerged in news fairness/balance and believability for each news medium among regular newspaper

readers (.05) but not those who regularly watch television news (see Tables 2 and 3). There is evidence in the data that respondents who are heavy television news viewers are among the less educated segment of the population. Among the 136 respondents who watch television news regularly but do not read newspapers are 25 percent (N=36) who reported no formal education. Presumably many of those are illiterate.[24]

The urban-rural residency of the subjects played a role in the differential between attitudes toward the two news media, but largely because newspaper access is more restricted than television in rural areas.

In terms of government-press issues, Mauritians reported the same general pattern of opinions as African newspaper editors on all three government-media issues (see Table 4), but African newspaper editors have more extreme opinions, as expected, particularly on the question of licensing of journalists. Statistically significant differences were found between sex, age and education (.001) on whether it is a reporter's responsibility to report all the news, good or bad, regardless of the consequences. Demographic variables were less revealing on the other two media-government questions.

[24]If those who report no formal education are in fact illiterate, this comprises 7 percent of the total sample. This rate appoximates the estimated rate of illiteracy for the island announced by education officials.

Conclusion

The pattern of credibility which is seen here reveals important characteristics of this particular audience's perception of the role and function of the press in a developing nation.

On whether the audience perceives a difference between development news and a free press, the answer is a qualified yes. There are fluctuations in the two basic credibility dimensions, fairness/balance and believability, which suggest audience members see the dimensions differently for each news medium. The implication is that this audience perceives the effects of government media control. Whether the impact on credibility is completely explained by government control, media form, or idiosyncratic variables of this culture cannot be fully answered here. In any case, there is no clear indication that television's presumed advantage of multi-sense appeal (aural and visual) increases overall believability. If anything, development television which avoids partisan political coverage is associated with a depoliticized audience.

The total sample reported a higher rating for fairness/balance in broadcast news than newspapers and comparable ratings for the two media in believability, problem solving and accuracy. Prior research has shown some of the functional viewer/reading differences based on media technology.[25] McClure and Patterson[26] found that U.S. newspapers have an overall more direct everyday

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[25]See, for instance, Steven Chaffee and J. Schleuder, "Measurement and Effects of Attention to Media News," *Human Communication Research*, 3:1, 1986, pp. 76-107.

[26]Robert McClure and Thomas Patterson, "Print vs. network news," Journal of Communication, 26:2, 1986, pp. 23-28.

effect, while television increases salience of some issues, but the patterns were not consistent. Audience receptivity and predisposition accounted for much of the difference. Gaziano and McGrath[27] found fairness to be slightly higher for television news in the U.S. than newspapers. However, credibility scores on the whole were moderately correlated with each other. The Mauritius data also reveal significant, but not strong, correlation of fairness/balance for television and newspaper news.[28] They also support Gaziano and McGrath's findings of higher fairness ratings for TV, but suggest that education may be associated with such responses.

The higher fairness and balance ratings for broadcast news can be explained partly by efforts of Mauritius Broadcast Co. to avoid most partisan political news coverage. Most Mauritian newspapers do not shun political coverage. By ignoring political events, broadcast journalists might be seen as comparatively "fair," but they are not journalistically responsive to this important aspect of island life.

An alternative explanation for the higher broadcast news rating is that the audience generally does not find the government's political agenda to be obtrusive, in spite of a high profile of government news (e.g. frequent ministerial press conferences and speeches).

There is no support in the data from this research that problem solving and accuracy are significant factors in news media credibility

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[27]Cecilie Baziano and Kristin McGrath, "Measuring the Concept of Credibility," Journalism Quarterly, 63:1, 1986, pp. 451-462. They found "fairness" had a factor loading of .66 for daily newspapers and .77 for television news; 52 percent rated both highly on the dimension.

[28]Pearson's r=.18, p.<.001

in Mauritius. The value of journalism to this public seems to be founded on other factors. What cannot be answered is how situational factors may have influenced these research findings. The location, political environment and other idiosyncratic cultural features may play important roles in media credibility.

The study nominally suggests that the audience sees the rationale of government involvement in broadcast news, which is consistent with NWICO policies. However, the public does vest a discernible degree of freedom and responsibility in news reporting. This somewhat paradoxical finding indicates that this Third World audience does not see the issues surrounding development journalism as a simple matter. Neither does the public seem to be as overtly concerned as most journalists about the evils of journalistic licensing. Journalists who hope to plead their case may have to do a better job of convincing the public.

Newspaper readers generally appear to be somewhat more independent-minded than others in the media audience. They see a significant difference in both fairness/balance and believability between media. What might account for this difference? It is suggested here that newspaper readers are somewhat more politically-oriented and attuned to political discourse and events in Mauritius. Those whose news source is primarily broadcast news seem to be somewhat less aware of and concerned about this dimension of national life.

For political and structural reasons, not the least of which is economic, Third World governments often become involved in broadcasting operations. There are few good alternatives to a

government monopoly in broadcasting in many developing nations, if the nation hopes to develop a broadcast system at all. The critical question of media freedom revolves around whether a Third World government can cultivate audience credibility while it covers hard news, especially political news, with development journalistic policies.

TABLE 1
Attitudes of Respondents toward Mauritius News Media

Attitude Item		Newspapers		Broadcast News		
		Mean[1]	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	T-Test
1)	*News media are fair and balanced in their news reports. (fairness & balanced)*	4.77	1.84	5.28	4.63	.001
a.	Male	4.96	1.86	5.43	6.37	
	Female	4.61	1.76	5.17	1.79	.001
b.	Urban	4.65	2.03	5.24	6.82	
	Rural	4.88	1.64	5.35	1.83	.001
c.	Under 40 years	5.54	1.72	5.43	5.72	
	40 years and above	4.48	1.63	5.04	1.82	.001
d.	Primary education	4.75	1.69	5.40	1.62	.001
	Secondary education	5.07	1.97	5.22	6.98	
2)	*News media usually tell us the truth about Mauritius (believability)*	4.44	1.99	4.38	2.13	
a.	Male	4.61	2.0*	4.30	2.24	
	Female	4.32	1.87	4.50	2.00	
b.	Urban	4.35	2.10	4.38	2.16	
	Rural	4.55	1.86	4.41	2.10	
c.	Under 40 years	4.51	2.07	4.37	2.22	
	40 years and above	4.34	1.83	4.41	1.98	
d.	Primary education	4.60	1.86	4.41	2.05	
	Secondary education	4.42	2.17	4.25	2.26	

[1]Scores are means on a seven-point scale in which 1 is "strongly disagree" and 7 is "strongly agree."

3)	*News media get to the bottom of community problems (problem solving)*	4.92	4.62	4.78	4.66
a.	Male	5.23	6.32	4.71	2.03
	Female	4.64	1.84	4.88	6.27
b.	Urban	5.22	6.79	5.04	6.83
	Rural	4.72	1.80	4.63	1.93
c.	Under 40 years	4.87	1.96	4.88	5.74
	40 years and above	4.92	7.05	4.62	1.89
d.	Primary education	5.04	6.29	4.61	1.92
	Secondary education	4.91	2.00	5.18	6.92
4)	*The illegal drugs and AIDS situation are much worse than reported in the news (accuracy)*	5.02	4.57	5.07	4.58
a.	Male	5.47	4.57	5.07	4.58
	Female	4.65	1.77	5.19	6.19
b.	Urban	5.07	1.85	5.40	6.76
	Rural	5.05	5.83	4.88	1.71
c.	Under 40 years	5.27	5.66	5.27	5.69
	40 years and above	4.60	1.69	4.74	1.71
d.	Primary education	5.26	6.22	4.84	1.71
	Secondary education	5.05	1.91	5.61	6.84

Table 2
Credibility of News Media
According to Frequent Newspaper Readers*

Attitude Item Directed At:	Newspapers		Broadcast		
(N=134)	Mean[1]	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	T-Test
1. *Fairness/balance*	5.08	2.07	4.63	2.46	.05
2. *Believablility*	4.61	2.15	4.01	2.28	.05
3. *Problem-solving*	5.72	8.34	5.28	8.44	
4. *Accuracy*	5.20	1.94	6.05	8.31	

Table 3
Credibility of News Media
According to Frequent Broadcast News Viewers*

Attitude Item Directed At:	Newspapers		Broadcast		
N=271	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	T- Test
1. *Fairness/balance*	4.93	1.93	5.14	2.07	
2. *Believablility*	4.60	2.03	4.48	2.24	
3. *Problem-solving*	5.24	6.03	5.04	6.09	
4. *Accuracy*	5.37	6.00	5.41	6.00	

*Scores reported only for respondents who indicated media exposure of at least 2-3 times per week.

[1]Scores are means on a seven-point scale in which 1 is "strongly disagree" and 7 is "strongly agree."

Table 4
Attitude of Respondents toward Media-Government Issues

Attitude Item	Mean[1]	S.D.	African Editors
1) *It is the reporter's responsibility to report all the news, good or bad, regardless of the consequences.*	5.20	1.77	5.57
2) *Journalists should be licensed by the government to maintain high standards in the news media.*	4.69	2.13	4.08
3) *Too much emphasis by journalists on conflicts and problems can be a threat to national development.*	4.78	6.26	4.96

[1]Scores are means on a seven-point scale in which 1 is "strongly disagree" and 7 is "strongly agree."